

UNLOCKING AMERICAN ECONOMIC POTENTIAL: BRIDGING THE GENDER  
WAGE GAP FOR WOMEN OF ALL RACES AND ETHNICITIES

by  
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## **Abstract**

In light of the Women's March and #MeToo movements, the gender wage gap has risen to the forefront of the American work place after decades of stagnation, and even regression, for women of various races and ethnicities. Black and Latina women experience disproportionate wage inequality and the Equal Pay Act of 1963 does not provide adequate enforcement mechanisms to bridge the gender wage gap. Furthermore, the United States economy loses a potential \$512.6 billion in growth as a result of the gender wage gap. The goal of this policy proposal is to achieve wage equity between women and men of all races and ethnicities for equal work, as well as offer services and incentives that will level the playing field and increase the lifelong income earning potential for women. This will be accomplished through comprehensive legislation that address the wide range of factors that contribute to the gender wage gap. Known as the Fair Opportunities for American Workers Act (FWA), the policy proposal addresses occupational segregation, transparency and availability of salary data, parental leave, and access to affordable childcare. If women earned wages at the same rate as men, 50 percent of American households could be lifted out of poverty. If the wage gap was eliminated for men and women of color, another \$2 trillion would be added to the GDP, representing a 14 percent increase in the size of the economy. Despite current political barriers, it is essential that lawmakers push for wage equality legislation that protect civil liberties and contribute to long-term economic growth and prosperity.

Advisor: Dr. Paul Weinstein

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**TO** Mark Takano, Ranking Member, House Subcommittee on Workforce  
Protections

**FROM** Rachel L. Mahmud

**SUBJECT** Bridging the gender wage gap will unlock tremendous economic potential

**DATE** January 9, 2018

**I. Action-Forcing event**

The US economy loses more than \$512.6 billion in potential economic growth because women are not paid equally to men, according to a recent report from the Institute for Women’s Policy Research (IWPR).<sup>1</sup> The report outlines a range of economic implications resulting from the gender wage gap, which is the median wage difference between men and women working full-time jobs.

**II. Statement of Problem**

The average woman’s earnings amount to only 80 percent of the average man’s, which amounts to a loss of nearly half a million dollars in potential income over the course of a woman’s lifetime.<sup>2</sup> Figure 1 shows how the wage gap between men and women has changed over the past 50 years, from 60 percent of men’s earnings in 1966 to 80 percent of men’s earnings in 2016. When you examine the gender wage gap by race and ethnicity, the numbers are even more staggering for Black and Latina women – they

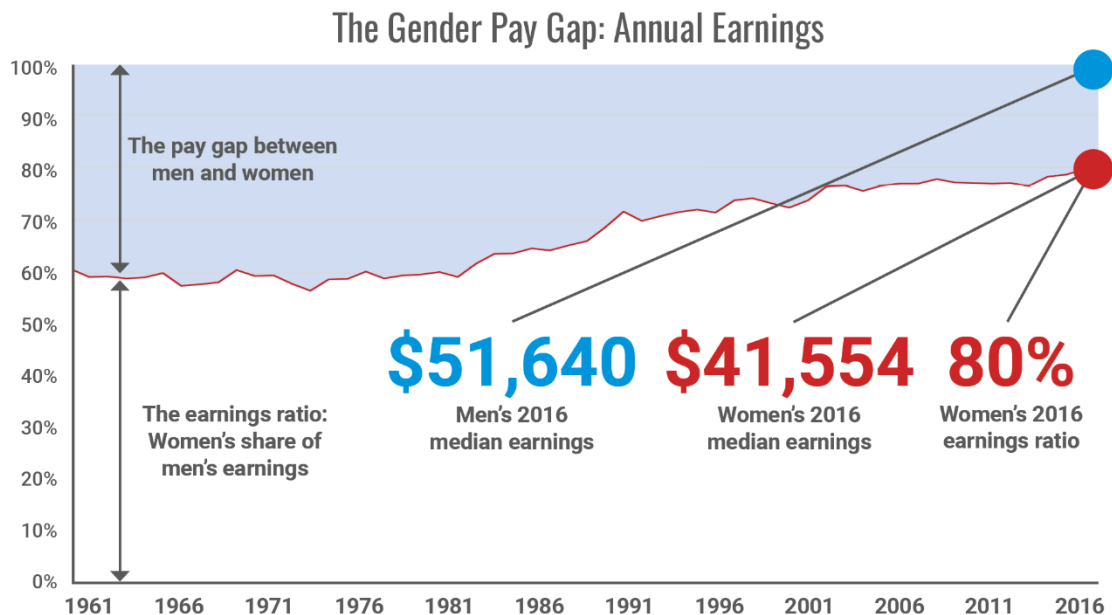
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<sup>1</sup> Milli et al., “The Impact of Equal Pay on Poverty and the Economy,” Washington, DC: IWPR, 2017, accessed Jan. 15, 2018, <https://iwpr.org/publications/impact-equal-pay-poverty-economy>.

<sup>2</sup> “Gender Pay Inequality: Consequences for Women, Families and the Economy,” Joint Economic Committee, United States Congress, April 2016, accessed Jan. 29, 2018, [https://www.jec.senate.gov/public/\\_cache/files/0779dc2f-4a4e-4386-b847-9ae919735acc/gender-pay-inequality---us-congress-joint-economic-committee.pdf](https://www.jec.senate.gov/public/_cache/files/0779dc2f-4a4e-4386-b847-9ae919735acc/gender-pay-inequality---us-congress-joint-economic-committee.pdf).

earn 63 percent and 54 percent of the average man’s wages, respectively.<sup>3</sup> Based on current trends, the gap is not expected to close for another forty years and the wait for Black and Latina women is even longer. As an increasing percentage of primary income earners in American households are women, the gender pay gap has major implications for economic growth, poverty, and gender equality in the United States.

*Figure 1. The Gender Pay Gap: Annual Earnings*<sup>4</sup>



Note: Figures refer to annual earnings of full-time, year-round workers over 15.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, "Income and Poverty in the United States: 2016," Table A-4

In 2016, it is estimated that the US economy would have grown by an additional \$512.6 billion without the gender wage gap.<sup>5</sup> In fact, women’s labor force participation has increased the overall size of the US economy by 13.5 percent, or \$2 trillion, over the

<sup>3</sup> Hegewisch, Ariane and Asha DuMonthier, "The Gender Wage Gap: 2015," Washington, DC: IWPR, 2016, accessed January 15, 2018, <https://iwpr.org/publications/the-gender-wage-gap-2015-annual-earnings-differences-by-gender-race-and-ethnicity>.

<sup>4</sup> Liner, Emily, "A Dollar Short: What’s Holding Women Back from Equal Pay?" Third Way, last updated Mar. 18, 2016, accessed Apr. 24, 2018, <http://www.thirdway.org/report/a-dollar-short-whats-holding-women-back-from-equal-pay>.

<sup>5</sup> Milli et al., "The Impact of Equal Pay on Poverty and the Economy."

past fifty years.<sup>6</sup> Women's participation in the labor force varies by race/ethnicity, education level, and marital status. However, compared to many OECD countries, the US lags behind. Since 2006, the US has made little progress in terms of economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, and political empowerment of women, leading to annual drops in the Global Gender Gap score.<sup>7</sup> Due to existing gender disparities, the US is missing out on \$1,750 billion in potential economic growth.<sup>8</sup> Additionally, if the wage gap was eliminated for people of color, another \$2 trillion, or approximately 14 percent, would be added to the GDP.<sup>9</sup>

The gender wage gap also has implications for poverty in the US. Women and minorities disproportionately experience poverty, with female-headed households twice as likely to be impoverished compared to male-headed households.<sup>10</sup> The median income of Black households is only 60 percent of White households and Hispanic households only make 75 percent of what White households make.<sup>11</sup> Women are the primary income earners for 40 percent of households with children and the majority of those women are Black or Hispanic.<sup>12</sup> Of those women with young children, 65 percent are employed,

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<sup>6</sup> "Eleven Facts about Family and Work," Executive Office of the President of the United States, Oct. 2014, accessed Jan. 28, 2018,

[https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/eleven\\_facts\\_about\\_family\\_and\\_work\\_final.pdf](https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/eleven_facts_about_family_and_work_final.pdf).

<sup>7</sup> "United States," Global Gender Gap Report 2017, World Economic Forum, accessed Jan. 29, 2018, <http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2017/dataexplorer/#economy=USA>.

<sup>8</sup> "Key Findings," Global Gender Gap Report 2017, World Economic Forum, accessed Jan. 29, 2018, <http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2017/key-findings/>.

<sup>9</sup> Blackwell et al. 2017, "The Competitive Advantage of Racial Equality," FSG, 2017, accessed Jan. 29, 2018, <https://www.fsg.org/publications/competitive-advantage-racial-equity>.

<sup>10</sup> Semega, Jessica L., Kayla R. Fontenot and Melissa A. Kollar, "Income and Poverty in the United States: 2016," U.S. Department of Commerce, September 2017, accessed Jan. 29, 2018, <https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2017/demo/P60-259.pdf>.

<sup>11</sup> Proctor, Bernadette D., Jessica L. Semega and Melissa A. Kollar, "Income and Poverty in the United States: 2015," U.S. Department of Commerce, Sept. 2016, accessed Jan. 29, 2018, <https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2016/demo/p60-256.pdf>.

<sup>12</sup> "Breadwinner Moms," *Pew Research Center*, 2013, accessed Jan. 29, 2018, <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2013/05/29/breadwinner-moms/>.

which is a much higher rate today than it was decades ago.<sup>13</sup> When women's wages lag behind men, not only does the US economy suffer, but the social and economic well-being of children suffers.

Occupational segregation and discrimination based on sex are also major problems that perpetuate the gender wage gap. Occupational segregation occurs in the labor market due to gender bias and leads to job functions and industries that are dominated by one sex, such as construction (male-dominated) or nursing (female-dominated). As seen in Figure 2, occupations that are dominated by women tend to pay less,<sup>14</sup> whereas jobs that are considered "masculine" tend to be more lucrative and in higher demand.<sup>15</sup> This occupational bias puts women at a disadvantage for life-long income earning potential. While research shows that a significant portion of the gender wage gap is due to women working in less lucrative industries, there is also significant data indicating that up to 50 percent of gender wage gap is based on sex alone, when controlling for other variables.<sup>16</sup> A leading expert on employment and earnings at IWPR, Ariane Hegewisch, also points out the disadvantages that Black women face because they often lack access to the social networks that connect people to jobs at higher paying firms, excluding them from the opportunity to compete to begin with.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *ibid*

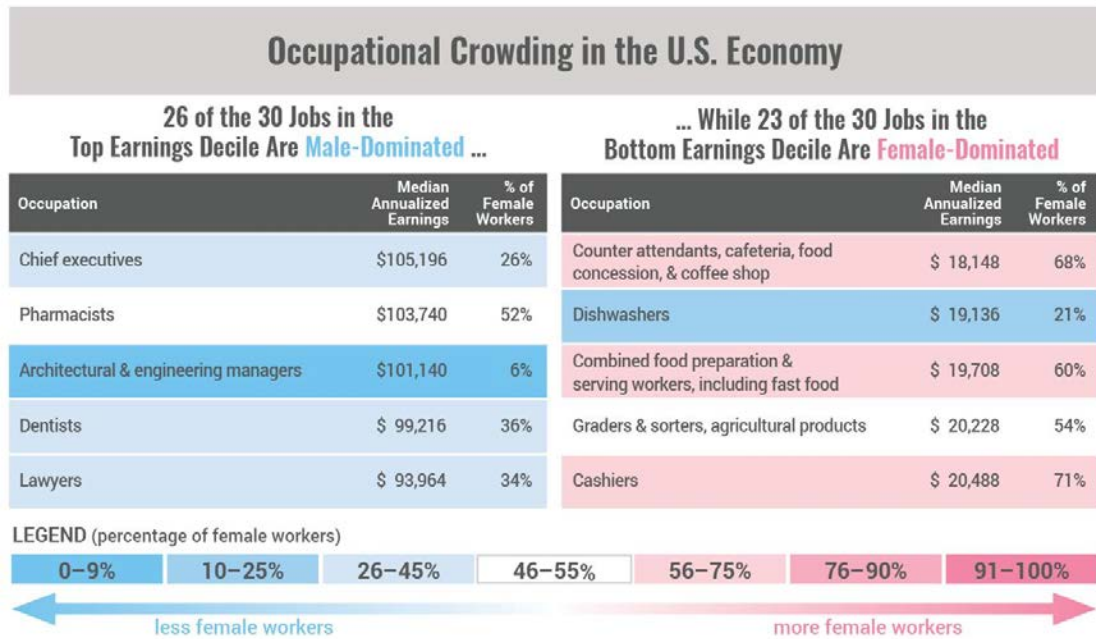
<sup>14</sup> England, Paula, Paul Allison and Yuxiao Wu, "Does bad pay cause occupations to feminize, Does feminization reduce pay, and How can we tell with longitudinal data?" *Social Science Research*, 36 no. 3 (2007): 1237-1256, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2006.08.003>.

<sup>15</sup> "Building New Possibilities: Promising Practices for Recruiting and Retaining Students in Career and Technical Education Programs that are Nontraditional for their Gender," Programs and Practices That Work: Preparing Student for Nontraditional Careers Project, National Women's Law Center, July 2009, accessed Jan. 29, 2018, [https://www.nwlc.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/Building\\_New\\_Possibilities.pdf](https://www.nwlc.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/Building_New_Possibilities.pdf).

<sup>16</sup> Bayard, Kimberly et al., "New Evidence on Sex Segregation and Sex Differences in Wages from Matched Employee-Employer Data," *Journal of Labor Economics*, 21 no. 4 (2003): 887-922, doi: 10.3386/w7003.

<sup>17</sup> Ariane Hegewisch, interview by Rachel Mahmud, Apr. 13, 2018.

Figure 2. Occupation Crowding in the US Economy<sup>18</sup>



Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Median weekly earnings of full-time wage and salary workers by detailed occupation and sex," Labor Force Statistics from the Current Population Survey, Table 39, 2014

There are many recent examples of class action lawsuits based on sex discrimination that led to unequal wages. For example, 1.5 million female employees sued Walmart in the 2000s for discriminatory wage practices that limited women's ability to advance professionally within the company.<sup>19</sup> While this class action law suit failed in the Supreme Court in 2011 because it was considered unsuitable for class treatment, Walmart has faced subsequent lawsuits from many of the same plaintiffs, as recently as 2017.<sup>20</sup> Google was also accused of wage discrimination and limiting women's professional development based on sex in a 2017 lawsuit.<sup>21</sup> Cases such as these

<sup>18</sup> Liner, Emily, "A Dollar Short: What's Holding Women Back from Equal Pay?"

<sup>19</sup> "Congress Must Act to Close the Wage Gap for Women: Facts on Women's Wages and Pending Legislation," *National Women's Law Center*, Jan. 2010, accessed Jan. 29, 2018, <https://www.nwlc.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/PayEquityFactSheetFinal.pdf>.

<sup>20</sup> Jordyn, Holman, "Wal-Mart Female Employees Try Again for Sex-Bias Class Action," *Bloomberg*, (New York, NY) Nov. 7, 2017, accessed Apr. 24, 2018, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-11-07/wal-mart-female-employees-try-again-for-sex-bias-class-action>.

<sup>21</sup> Merrit Kennedy, "3 Female Former Employees Sue Google Over Alleged Gender Pay Discrimination," *NPR* (Washington, DC), Sept. 15, 2017, accessed Jan. 29, 2018, <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo->



demonstrate how the gender wage gap is not just about receiving equal wages for equal work, but also that gender inequality is systemic within the workplace and needs to be addressed across multiple levels.

Black women experience discrimination based on both sex and race, limiting their ability to obtain high quality, lucrative jobs compared to White women and men.<sup>22</sup> Black women participate in the labor force at a higher rate than other women, yet they tend to be in lower paying jobs and their earnings are only 73 percent compared to all women and 65 percent compared to White men.<sup>23</sup> Today's economy has more middle-skills jobs available than qualified workers, yet Black women are still excluded from many of these higher-paying positions. This is particularly evident when examining the representation of Black women and people of color in leadership positions, such as executives at Fortune 500 companies, where Black female leaders are completely absent and the number of Black male leaders is abysmal.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, while White women make up 30 percent of senior executive level positions in the private sector, Hispanic, Black, and Asian women make up only four percent of positions at this level.<sup>25</sup> The gender wage gap is one of many factors preventing minority women from advancing their careers and contributing to the workforce, placing a huge burden on the US economy and the well-being of millions of American families.

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[way/2017/09/15/551206265/3-female-former-employees-sue-google-over-alleged-gender-pay-discrimination](http://way/2017/09/15/551206265/3-female-former-employees-sue-google-over-alleged-gender-pay-discrimination).

<sup>22</sup> DuMonthier, Asha, Chandra Childers and Jessica Milli, "The Status of Black Women in the United States," *Institute for Women's Policy Research*, 2017, accessed Jan. 29, 2018, [http://statusofwomendata.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/SOBW\\_report2017\\_compressed.pdf](http://statusofwomendata.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/SOBW_report2017_compressed.pdf).

<sup>23</sup> *ibid*

<sup>24</sup> Gillian B. White, "There Are Currently 4 Black CEOs in the Fortune 500," *The Atlantic*, Oct. 26, 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2017/10/black-ceos-fortune-500/543960>.

<sup>25</sup> "Why We Need the New Future Fund," *Why Now*, The New Future Fund, accessed Jan. 29, 2018, <http://www.ournewfuture.org/why-now.html>.

### III. History/Background

The history of undervaluing women's work is a long one, and it is a key factor in the persistence of a wage gap between men and women.<sup>26</sup> Women's labor and jobs are less valued by society compared to those of men. This is a root cause of occupational segregation, sex-based discrimination in the workplace, and the disproportionate burden of unpaid care and household responsibilities on women.<sup>27</sup> Despite some progress over the past 50 years, women's wages remain lower than men's in almost every industry, regardless of whether or not the industry is dominated by one sex.<sup>28</sup> The first piece of major legislation passed to address wage inequity was the Equal Pay Act (EPA) of 1963 to outlaw wage discrimination based on sex for jobs that "require substantially equal skill, effort and responsibility under similar working conditions," as an amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938.<sup>29</sup> The EPA's intention, as stated by President John F. Kennedy, was to "affirm our determination that when women enter the labor force they will find equality in their pay envelopes."<sup>30</sup> While the legislation did not specifically address other factors like childcare, President John F. Kennedy highlighted the burden of childcare on women, which can negatively impact their earning potential and workforce

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<sup>26</sup> Claire Cain Miller, "As Women Take Over a Male-Dominated Field, the Pay Drops," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), Mar. 18, 2016, [https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/20/upshot/as-women-take-over-a-male-dominated-field-the-pay-drops.html?\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/20/upshot/as-women-take-over-a-male-dominated-field-the-pay-drops.html?_r=0).

<sup>27</sup> Grimshaw, Damaian and Jill Rubery, "Undervaluing Women's Work," EOC Working Paper Series No. 53, Equal Opportunities Commission, University of Manchester, 2007, [http://www.njl.nu/uploads/Paper\\_2007\\_Jill\\_Rubery.pdf](http://www.njl.nu/uploads/Paper_2007_Jill_Rubery.pdf).

<sup>28</sup> Hegewisch, Ariane and Emma Williams-Baron, "The Gender Wage Gap by Occupation 2016 and by Race and Ethnicity," Washington, DC: IWPR, 2017, accessed Feb. 11, 2018, <https://iwpr.org/publications/gender-wage-gap-occupation-2016-race-ethnicity>.

<sup>29</sup> "The Equal Pay Act of 1963," US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, accessed Feb. 11, 2018, <https://www.eeoc.gov/laws/statutes/epa.cfm>.

<sup>30</sup> John F. Kennedy, "Remarks Upon Signing the Equal Pay Act" (speech, Washington, DC, June 10, 1963), The American Presidency Project, <http://www.presidency.ucs.edu/ws/?pid=9267>.

participation, and called for further legislation to increase access to affordable childcare as part of the solution.

Following the passage of the EPA, several other key pieces of legislation were passed that have implications for women's compensation. In 1964, the Civil Rights Act included Title VII, which "prevents employment discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex and national origin."<sup>31</sup> In 1972, Congress recognized the inadequacy of the Civil Rights legislation passed in 1964 and sought to remedy it by passing the Equal Employment Opportunity Act to improve the government's ability to enforce Title VII through the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).<sup>32</sup> Title VII was amended further in 1978 to clarify that it is unlawful to discriminate against women based on pregnancy.<sup>33</sup> In 1991, Title VII expanded further to make it easier for women and minorities to enter into occupations that are male-dominated.<sup>34</sup>

While there has been significant policy change since the 1960s to address sex-based discrimination and wage inequality, real progress has largely stalled since the 1990s. Experts argue this is partially due to the Civil Rights legislation passed in 1991, making it riskier for employers to hire women and minorities due to increased protections and higher costs associated with firing employees for discriminatory reasons.<sup>35</sup> The legislation had the "unintended" effect of discouraging employers from hiring women and minorities to begin with to avoid prosecution all together, and gains in occupational

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<sup>31</sup> "Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964," US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, accessed Feb. 11, 2018, <https://www.eeoc.gov/laws/statutes/titlevii.cfm>.

<sup>32</sup> "The Law," EEOC, accessed Feb. 11, 2018, <https://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/history/35th/thelaw/index.html>.

<sup>33</sup> *ibid*

<sup>34</sup> Oyer, Paul and Scott Schaefer, "The Unintended Consequences of the '91 Civil Rights Act," *Regulation*, 26 no. 2 (2003): 42-47, <https://ssrn.com/abstract=505642>.

<sup>35</sup> *ibid*

desegregation leading up to 1991 petered out after the law was passed.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, the wage gap between Black women and White women has grown since 1979; in 2015, Black women's wages were 19 percent lower than White women's.<sup>37</sup> This highlights the discrepancy in wage equality beyond just between men and women, but also among women of different races and ethnicities, despite decades of legislation aiming to achieve equal opportunity for all.

The most recent piece of legislation passed to address equal pay is the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009 under the Obama Administration, which overturned a 2007 Supreme Court decision that set an unfair precedent for the statute of limitations on wage discrimination.<sup>38</sup> As a result, employees are allowed to seek retribution for discrimination, regardless of the amount of time that has passed. While this legislation moved things in a positive direction for the fight against the gender wage gap, it is not comprehensive and does not address a range of other issues contributing to the pay inequity.

Since 2009, Congress has introduced more comprehensive legislation aimed to overcome some of the inadequacies of the Equal Pay Act and subsequent legislation. In 2014, the House Democrats introduced the Paycheck Fairness Act, which aims to increase wage transparency by allowing employees to discuss their wages, and requires the government to track employer salary data based on sex and race.<sup>39</sup> Republicans

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<sup>36</sup> *ibid*

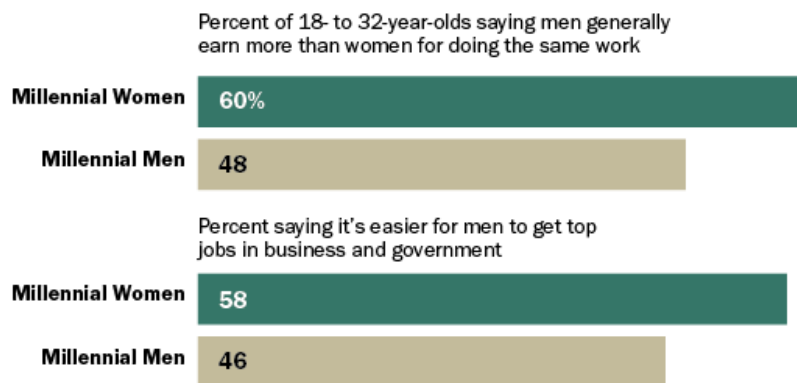
<sup>37</sup> Wilson, Valerie and William M. Rodgers III, "Black-white wage gaps expand with rising wage inequality," Washington, DC: *Economic Policy Institute*, 2016, accessed Feb. 11, 2018, [epi.org/101972](http://epi.org/101972).

<sup>38</sup> "Equal Pay Act of 1963 and Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009," US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, accessed Feb. 11, 2018, [https://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/publications/brochure-equal\\_pay\\_and\\_ledbetter\\_act.cfm](https://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/publications/brochure-equal_pay_and_ledbetter_act.cfm).

<sup>39</sup> Wesley Lowery, "Senate Republicans reject equal pay bill," *The Washington Post* (Washington, DC), Apr. 9, 2014, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/senate-republicans-reject-equal-pay-bill/2014/04/09/ce011342-c003-11e3-b574-f8748871856a\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.73cc8968d66a](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/senate-republicans-reject-equal-pay-bill/2014/04/09/ce011342-c003-11e3-b574-f8748871856a_story.html?utm_term=.73cc8968d66a).

opposed this bill because they argued that the EPA sufficiently outlaws pay discrimination and that the Paycheck Fairness Act would lead to an unnecessary increase in the number of lawsuits against employers.<sup>40</sup> According to Pew Research Center, gender discrimination in the workplace remains ever-present; polls show that the majority of young women believe that men earn more and have an advantage in getting executive leadership positions, and the majority of men and women believe that society favors men over women (see Figure 3 below).<sup>41</sup>

*Figure 3. Perceptions about Pay & Leadership Equity in the Workplace*<sup>42</sup>



Source: Pew Research Center survey, Oct. 7-27, 2013

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Under current policies, the success rate of lawsuits filed with the EEOC is extremely low; over the past decade, only 5.6% percent of cases on average found “reasonable cause”, 59 percent found “no reasonable cause”, and the average settlement

<sup>40</sup> Bryce Covert, “Marco Rubio Explains His Opposition to Equal Pay Law,” *ThinkProgress* (Washington, DC), Nov. 30, 2015, <https://thinkprogress.org/marco-rubio-explains-his-opposition-to-equal-pay-law-3c3924506778>.

<sup>41</sup> “10 Findings about Women in the Workplace,” *Pew Research Center*, last updated Dec. 11, 2013, accessed Apr. 24, 2018, <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2013/12/11/10-findings-about-women-in-the-workplace>.

<sup>42</sup> *ibid*

rate was only 9 percent.<sup>43</sup> The Paycheck Fairness Act and executive orders issued by the Obama Administration aim to address some of the key problems that the EPA does not resolve. First, employees lack information about wages and employers prohibit them from disclosing their wages, making it difficult for employees to know if there is discrimination taking place.<sup>44</sup> Second, available public data on wages is not broken down by categories such as sex, race, and national origin, making it difficult to enforce the law and correct wage differences.<sup>45</sup> Finally, sex- and race-based discrimination in the workplace puts women and minorities at a disadvantage. In fact, women report two times as much discrimination in the workplace compared to men, and a quarter of all women report that this discrimination includes being paid less than men doing the same job.<sup>46</sup> Additionally, women are disproportionately affected by unpaid care and family responsibilities that prevent career advancement, such as having children or taking time off to take care of family members.<sup>47</sup>

State and local level policies also have an impact on the wage gap. In 2017, six states and territories passed laws to further address the gender wage gap (California, Colorado, Delaware, Nevada, Oregon, and Puerto Rico). In some cases, States made it illegal for employers to request salary history from new hires, which could unfairly disadvantage them in salary negotiations, as well as increased wage transparency and

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<sup>43</sup> “Equal Pay Act Charges (Charges filed with EEOC) FY 1997- FY 2017,” US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, accessed Feb. 11, 2018, <https://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/statistics/enforcement/epa.cfm>.

<sup>44</sup> Irin Carmon, “Why the GOP is wrong about the pay gap,” *MSNBC* (New York, NY), last modified Apr. 8, 2014, <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/why-the-gop-wrong-about-the-pay-gap>.

<sup>45</sup> Wesley Lowery, “Senate Republicans reject equal pay bill.”

<sup>46</sup> Parker, Kim and Cary Funk, “Gender discrimination comes in many forms for today’s working women,” *Pew Research Center*, last updated Dec. 14, 2017, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/12/14/gender-discrimination-comes-in-many-forms-for-todays-working-women>.

<sup>47</sup> “10 Findings about Women in the Workplace,” *Pew Research Center*.

prohibit retaliation from employers for employee wage inquiries.<sup>48</sup> In 2016, Massachusetts passed the most progressive legislation on equal pay to date and the city of Boston has taken measures to improve the wage gap since 2013.<sup>49</sup> Other cities also took action in 2017 to address equal pay through ordinances and executive orders that prevent employers from asking about salary history: New York City, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, and New Orleans.<sup>50</sup>

Despite recent progress, the majority of States do not have adequate protection for non-retaliation (32) and salary history (46), along with a range of other defenses, remedies, and pre-emptive actions that would better ensure more equitable pay.<sup>51</sup> In some cases, State legislatures have voted for equal pay laws only to be vetoed by the governor (Illinois, New Jersey, Maine, and Nevada). Each year since 2014, a large number of States introduced equal pay legislation (16 in 2014, 33 in 2015, and 24 in 2016), yet only a small portion of bills passed (4, 8, and 6, respectively).<sup>52 53 54</sup> Current data models project that it will take more than 40 years – and in some cases more than 60 years – for 60 percent of States to close the wage gap for women (see Figure 4, below).<sup>55</sup> This state-level data does not take into account the differences among women by race and ethnicity,

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<sup>48</sup> Nielson, Katie, “States Notch Multiple Equal Pay Victories in 2017,” AAUW, last updated Oct. 13, 2017, <https://www.aauw.org/2017/10/13/state-equal-pay-victories-in-2017>.

<sup>49</sup> “Massachusetts: Leading the Way on Equal Pay,” US Department of Labor Blog, last updated Aug. 4, 2016, <https://blog.dol.gov/2016/08/04/massachusetts-leading-the-way-on-equal-pay>.

<sup>50</sup> Nielson, Katie, “States Notch Multiple Equal Pay Victories in 2017.”

<sup>51</sup> Nielson, Katie, “AAUW Policy Guide to Equal Pay in the States,” AAUW, accessed Feb. 11, 2018, <https://www.aauw.org/resource/state-equal-pay-laws>.

<sup>52</sup> “2014 Equal Pay Legislation,” *National Conference of State Legislatures*, last updated Dec. 8, 2014, accessed Apr. 24, 2018, <http://www.ncsl.org/research/labor-and-employment/discrimination.aspx>.

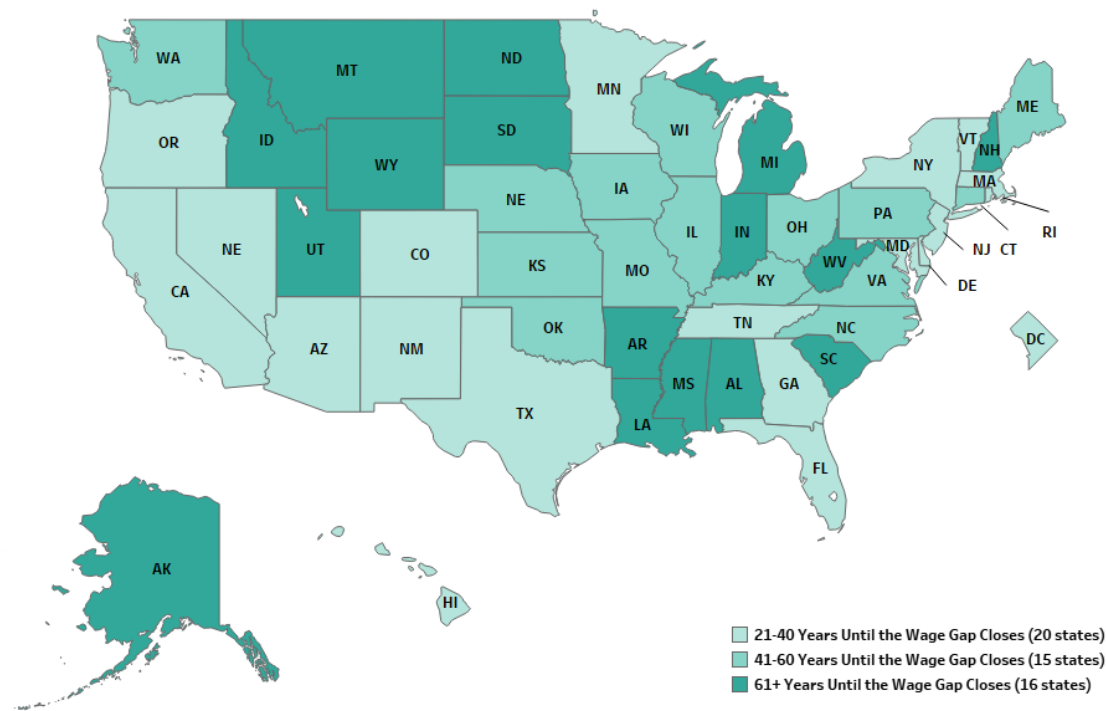
<sup>53</sup> “2015 Equal Pay Legislation,” *National Conference of State Legislatures*, last updated Nov. 23, 2015, accessed Apr. 24, 2018, <http://www.ncsl.org/research/labor-and-employment/2015-equal-pay-legislation.aspx>.

<sup>54</sup> Nielson, Katie, “Where Equal Pay Flourished (and Failed) in 2016,” AAUW, last updated Oct. 27, 2016, accessed Apr. 24, 2018, <https://www.aauw.org/2016/10/27/where-equal-pay-flourished-and-failed-in-2016>.

<sup>55</sup> “Projected Year the Wage Gap Will Close by State,” Washington, DC: IWPR, 2017, accessed Feb. 12, 2018, <https://iwpr.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/R476.pdf>.

which indicates it will likely take Black and Latina women, among others, much longer to achieve these benchmarks.

*Figure 4. Projected Year the Wage Gap Will Close by State*<sup>56</sup>



#### IV. Policy Proposal

The primary goal of this policy proposal is to achieve wage equity between men and women of all races and ethnicities for equal work. The secondary goal of this policy proposal is to level the playing field between men and women when it comes to lifelong income earning potential because current policies do not effectively address systemic inequalities. This means implementing policies that address occupational segregation and institutionalized sexism, such as increasing access to paid parental leave and affordable childcare. The most commonly cited wage gap statistic assumes that men and women are

<sup>56</sup> “Projected Year the Wage Gap Will Close by State,” IWPR.



homogenous groups and does not take race, ethnicity, and class differences into account. This policy proposal will explicitly consider these factors by developing enforceable policies to increase salary transparency, ban employers from inquiring about salary history, reduce occupational segregation, require employers to report sex- and race-disaggregated salary data, require paid parental leave, and increase access to affordable childcare.

The policy authorization tool will be in the form of an amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 known as the Fair Opportunities for American Workers Act (“Fair Workers Act” (FWA)). Similar legislation has been proposed multiple times in the form of the Paycheck Fairness Act, most recently in April 2017 (see Table 1, below). After much negotiation, the House of Representatives passed a version of the bill that made many concessions from the originally posed legislation. However, as of this time, it has yet to pass in the Senate.<sup>57</sup> The proposed FWA will build from many of the policies proposed in the Paycheck Fairness Act, but will expand further to address additional barriers to equal pay and opportunity particularly detrimental to people of color, which are not adequately addressed by the Paycheck Fairness Act. This includes banning employers from inquiring about salary history during the hiring process, tax incentives for employers to provide paid parental leave and access to affordable childcare, and increasing wage reporting requirements for employers.

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<sup>57</sup> Christopher Keating, “House Overwhelmingly Approves Pay Equity Compromise,” *Hartford Courant* (Hartford, CT), Feb. 24, 2018, <http://www.courant.com/politics/hc-house-pay-equity-20170411-story.html>.

Table 1. Key Provisions of wage equality legislation<sup>58</sup>

Key Provisions of Legislation		Paycheck Fairness Act (2017)	Fair Workers Act (2018)
	Protect against retaliation for discussing salaries with colleagues	X	X
	Prohibit employers from screening job applicants based on their salary history or requiring salary history during the interview and hiring process	X	X
	Require employers to prove that pay disparities exist for legitimate, job-related reasons	X	X
	Provide plaintiffs who file sex-based wage discrimination claims under the Equal Pay Act with the same remedies available to plaintiffs who file race- or ethnicity-based wage discrimination claims under the Civil Rights Act	X	X
	Remove obstacles in the Equal Pay Act to facilitate plaintiffs' participation in class action lawsuits that challenge systemic pay discrimination	X	X
	Create a negotiation skills training program for women and girls	X	X
	Recognize excellence in pay practices among employers	X	X
	Provide assistance to businesses of all sizes that need help with their equal pay practices	X	X
	<b>Tax credit for companies that submit employee data disaggregated by sex, race, ethnicity and national origin during first 5 years</b>		<b>X</b>
	<b>Tax credit per employee for demonstrated equal pay for equal work between employees of different sexes and racial/ethnic backgrounds</b>		<b>X</b>
	<b>Public recognition for companies that submit employee data on an annual basis and demonstrate progress in bridging the gender and racial wage gap over time</b>		<b>X</b>
	<b>Tax credit for companies that provide targeted job training programs for women in STEM</b>		<b>X</b>
	<b>Grants for public-private partnerships</b>		<b>X</b>
	<b>Penalties incurred by employers due to negligence in reporting salary data or violation of other requirements</b>		<b>X</b>

<sup>58</sup> "The Paycheck Fairness Act: Fact sheet," National Partnership for Women & Families, 2017, accessed Mar. 21, 2018, <http://www.nationalpartnership.org/research-library/workplace-fairness/fair-pay/the-paycheck-fairness-act.pdf>.

Key Provisions of Legislation		Paycheck Fairness Act (2017)	Fair Workers Act (2018)
Enforcement agencies	Help ensure the Department of Labor uses the full range of investigatory tools to uncover wage discrimination, including collecting federal contractors' wage data	X	X
	Direct the EEOC to conduct a survey of available wage information to assist federal agencies in enforcing wage discrimination laws and creating a system to collect wage data	X	X
	Instruct DOL to conduct studies and review available research and data to provide information on how to identify, correct and eliminate illegal wage disparities	X	X
	<b>Annual report on status of women's leadership to identify trends and to determine incentives for different industries</b>		<b>X</b>

Based on estimates of similar, comprehensive legislation in 2008, and taking inflation into account, the FWA will require approximately \$20 million of discretionary spending to enforce over a five-year period.<sup>59</sup> This will require no more than a 20 percent increase in the current House budget for Education, Training, Employment, and Social Services.<sup>60</sup> This budget category only accounts for two percent of the annual congressional budget,<sup>61</sup> and will be paid for by penalties incurred by employers due to negligence in reporting salary data or violation of other requirements such as the ban on

<sup>59</sup> "H.R. 1338 Paycheck Fairness Act," Congressional Budget Office Cost Estimate, July 25, 2008, <https://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/110th-congress-2007-2008/costestimate/hr13380.pdf>.

<sup>60</sup> "Focus on Function 500 - Education, Training, Employment, and Social Services," US House of Representatives Committee on the Budget, House Budget Committee Democratic Staff, Jan. 31, 2018, <https://democrats-budget.house.gov/focus-function-500-education-training-employment-and-social-services>.

<sup>61</sup> "Focus on Function: An Introduction," US House of Representatives Committee on the Budget, House Budget Committee Democratic Staff, Jan. 31, 2018, <https://democrats-budget.house.gov/publications/focus-function-introduction>.

inquiring about salary history.<sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> The regulations found in FWA will be rolled out over a period of five years to allow employers to adapt to the new reporting requirements and avoid financial penalties while they adjust to meet new standards. Tax incentives in the form of credits will be provided for employers who are immediately able to submit employee data that is disaggregated by sex, race, ethnicity and national origin, as well as provide the number of hours worked by employees in different job categories (part-time, full-time, seasonal).<sup>64</sup> Companies that are able to demonstrate equal pay for equal work between employees of different sexes and racial/ethnic backgrounds during the first five years will benefit immediately from a tax credit per employee based on business size. After five years, employer incentives will be reduced and slowly phased out over another five years because the law will have taken full effect.

Upon codification, the FWA will aim to provide public recognition for early adopters. This will be in the form of a certification for companies that are able to ramp up and provide employee data on an annual basis, demonstrating initiative and progress in bridging the gender and racial wage gap. At the bare minimum, these companies must demonstrate equal pay for equal work, but may also demonstrate that measures have been taken to reduce occupational segregation in industries that are dominated by one sex (60 percent or higher), or where racial and ethnic minorities are underrepresented. For example, companies that provide targeted job training programs to encourage more women and minorities to join traditionally White male-dominated science, technology,

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<sup>62</sup> US Congress, Senate, “S.819 - Paycheck Fairness Act,” Apr. 4, 2017, 115th Cong., 1st sess., 2017, S.819, <https://www.congress.gov/bills/115/congress/senate/bills/819/text>.

<sup>63</sup> “The Make It Work Campaign’s Policy Proposal on Equal Pay,” Make it Work, Aug. 2016, [http://www.makeitworkcampaign.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Equal-Pay-Proposal\\_For-Web-8.15.16-FINAL.EN\\_.pdf](http://www.makeitworkcampaign.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Equal-Pay-Proposal_For-Web-8.15.16-FINAL.EN_.pdf).

<sup>64</sup> *ibid*

engineering, and math (STEM) fields will receive additional tax credits. STEM companies will also be incentivized through grants to establish public-private partnerships with educational institutions to teach young women, girls, and minority students about careers in STEM and other higher-paying industries that are traditionally male-dominated such as law, medicine, and finance. The policy will not discourage men and boys from joining traditionally female-dominated industries and will also offer similar tax credits for companies that demonstrate outreach to diversify their fields.

Additional data will be collected on a voluntary basis to examine the breakdown of individuals holding leadership positions by sex, race, and ethnicity. Companies will be incentivized to report the self-identified racial/ethnic and gender breakdown of employees holding different categories of positions – ranging from administrative, professional, mid-level management, senior- and executive-level management, to CEOs and board members. The data will be published in an annual report examining the status of leadership in the private and public sectors to identify trends and gaps and will help to determine appropriate incentives for industries lagging behind. Companies that report leadership data will be eligible for a national grant program that will provide \$2 million in annual funding to support further training, mentorship, and innovative strategies to overcome institutional barriers to leadership opportunities for women and minorities. The grant fund will be financed through public-private partnerships with foundations, such as the Ford Foundation, who will administer and manage the grant fund to private and non-profit entities.

To foster further competition and progress, the FWA will track and rank States based on the number of companies reporting wage data, improvements in the State-level

gender wage gap, reduction in occupational segregation, the status of women in leadership positions, and the availability of job training programs for women in STEM, among other things. Companies operating in the top ten States will be given preference for federal grants, though companies in other States will remain eligible.

## **V. Policy Analysis**

This policy proposal offers a range of benefits. Fifty-five years ago, the Equal Pay Act was passed, yet a 20 percent wage gap remains between men and women, and the wage gap for Black and Latina women is significantly larger. The FWA is more comprehensive than all previous legislation addressing the wage gap and addresses a wider range of barriers to achieving wage equality between men, women, and people of different races and ethnicities. Current policies addressing the pay discrepancy between men and women remain inadequate. The FWA will enforce more equitable practices in the workplace, in a way that has not been addressed by previous legislation. Not only will this policy directly impact women in the labor force, but it will also benefit their children, spouses, and families, and the national economy.

The majority of American households will benefit from the FWA for several reasons: mothers are the primary breadwinners in 40 percent of households; women make up half of the labor force; and 65 percent of married mothers work.<sup>65</sup> If the FWA leads to wage equality, 60 percent of women will see their wages increase and an even greater percentage of female-headed households with children will benefit.<sup>66</sup> If women are paid equally to men, the number of employed women living in poverty would drop by half

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<sup>65</sup> “Breadwinner Moms,” *Pew Research Center*.

<sup>66</sup> Milli et al, “The Impact of Equal Pay on Poverty and the Economy.”

from 8 to 4 percent.<sup>67</sup> In the US, households where mothers are the primary income earner are disproportionately impoverished, and a significant percentage of those households would drop out of poverty – from 30 percent to 15 percent.<sup>68</sup> As a result of a significant increase in women’s pay, more than 25 million children of working families would be lifted out of poverty. Table 2 shows how equal pay would impact women’s annual earnings, which in turn would lift more than 50 percent of households out of poverty because of wage equality.

*Table 2. Mean Annual Earnings, Mean Family Income, and Poverty Rates if Working Women Earned the Same as Comparable Men, 2013-2015 Average, in 2016 Dollars<sup>69</sup>*

<b>All Working Women</b>	
Population Size	74,609,025
Annual Hours Worked	1,729
<b>Women's Annual Earnings</b>	
Current	\$38,972
After Pay Adjustment	\$45,842
Percent of Women With Wage Adjustments	59.8%
Average Increase (inc. zero)	\$6,870
<b>Annual Family Income (Families with Women Earners, Including Single Working Women)</b>	
Current	\$93,075
After Pay Adjustment	\$100,917
Percent of Families with Income Adjustments	62.6%
Total Income Gains (\$B)	\$512.6
Increase in Income as Percentage of 2016 GDP	2.8%
<b>Family Poverty (Including Single Women)</b>	
Number Currently in Poverty	5,968,722
Current Poverty Rate	8.0%
Number in Poverty After Adjustment	2,835,143
Poverty Rate After Adjustment	3.8%
Percent of Families Brought out of Poverty by Equal Pay	52.5%

The national economy will benefit from the enforcement of equal remuneration policies under the FWA. The resulting increase of women’s wages and participation in

<sup>67</sup> *ibid*

<sup>68</sup> *ibid*

<sup>69</sup> *ibid*

the labor economy has the potential to increase the national GDP by nearly three percent or \$512.6 billion.<sup>70</sup> By strengthening the American economy and lifting families out of poverty, the US will become more competitive in the global economy. The European Union, which is comprised of 28 countries and has an annual GDP similar to the US, specifically prioritizes policies that aim to overcome the gender wage gap and address women's poverty as part of its gender equality strategy.<sup>71</sup> By focusing on achieving wage equality, the US will increase its economic competitiveness with large economies like the EU and live up to international labor standards. Policies that enforce equal pay and family leave will also position US-based industries to attract more talent and innovation by encouraging companies to operate out of the US rather than other countries where labor laws are more favorable for talented professionals.

There are only two countries in the world that do not offer mandatory paid leave benefits for new mothers: the US and Papua New Guinea.<sup>72</sup> The International Labor Organization's (ILO) minimum standard for maternity leave is 14 weeks, which is determined based on the needs of new mothers to recover from child birth and provide for their children, as well as the likelihood that mothers will drop out of the workforce after childbirth if they do not feel prepared to return.<sup>73</sup> By making paid parental leave a right for both mothers and fathers, the FWA will enforce gender equitable policies by showing there is economic value to the unpaid childcare performed by men and women,

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<sup>70</sup> *ibid*

<sup>71</sup> "Gender Equality Strategy," European Commission, 2016, accessed Mar. 31, 2018, [https://ec.europa.eu/info/strategy/justice-and-fundamental-rights/discrimination/gender-equality/gender-equality-strategy\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/info/strategy/justice-and-fundamental-rights/discrimination/gender-equality/gender-equality-strategy_en).

<sup>72</sup> "Maternity and paternity at work: Law and practice across the world," International Labor Organization, 2014, accessed Mar. 21, 2018, <http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/equality-and-discrimination/maternity-protection/publications/maternity-paternity-at-work-2014/lang--en/index.htm>.

<sup>73</sup> *ibid*



which is traditionally consider a woman's role.<sup>74</sup> Research shows there are also economic benefits of paid leave, particularly for employers, because the turnover rate for female employees becomes 26 percent lower when first-time mothers take paid leave.<sup>75</sup> This indicates that paid leave benefits both employers and employees in terms of job stability and can reduce costs associated with human resources.

By requiring that companies report employment data disaggregated by sex, race, ethnicity, national origin, and other factors, there will be a significant increase in the availability of salary data from the private and public sectors to better understand the wage gap. Ultimately, this will allow the government to more adequately address the problem and build the case for private sector policies to implement equitable policies. In the long-run, this will provide policy makers with the evidence they need to justify public policies that lead to improved labor conditions for American workers and ensure that civil rights are upheld to achieve greater equality.

By administering a ranking system among States based on reporting and performance under the FWA, States and local governments will be incentivized to create a better enabling environment for businesses to receive government grants. They will also be more likely to enact additional State-level legislation that addresses the key barriers to gender wage equality, such as occupational segregation, access to affordable childcare, and paid parental leave. This will also incentivize companies to put pressure on State

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<sup>74</sup> *ibid*

<sup>75</sup> Hartmann, Heidi and Jeffrey Hayes, "25 Years after FMLA: Research Finds that Paid Leave is a Great Investment," IWPR, Feb. 5, 2018, accessed Apr. 25, 2018, <https://femchat-iwpr.org/2018/02/05/25-years-after-fmla-research-finds-that-paid-leave-is-a-great-investment>.

legislatures to create a better enabling environment for businesses and to hold them accountable for tracking employment data in order to increase their State rankings.

The FWA will also have secondary outcomes on the existing wage gap between Black and White Americans. Since 1979, when Black and White women were paid nearly equally, the wage gap has increased to 19 percent.<sup>76</sup> The gap between Black and White men has also grown, increasing from 22 percent in 1979 to 31 percent in 2015. The FWA aims to reduce these gaps by eliminating institutional barriers to wage equity between women and men of all races and ethnicities.

The enforcement mechanisms included in the FWA are more effective than existing policies found in the Equal Pay Act and Fair Labor Standards Act. The FWA requires that companies report wage data, whereas existing legislation does not hold enterprises accountable for demonstrating that they pay employees equal pay for equal work. The FWA also provides incentives in the form of tax credits and public recognition for companies that report data on an annual basis. During the first five years, companies will be motivated by the financial and reputational gains as a result of FWA policies. As the tax credits phase out and all companies are mandated to provide wage data, there will be a gradual shift in corporate cultural norms that make it standard best practice – and law-abiding – to report this type of data, and companies with a track record of consistently reporting and demonstrating progress will continue to be acknowledged through public recognition and certification.

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<sup>76</sup> Wilson, Valerie and William M. Rodgers III, “Black-white wage gaps expand with rising wage inequality,” Economic Policy Institute, 2016, accessed Mar. 21, 2018, <https://www.epi.org/publication/black-white-wage-gaps-expand-with-rising-wage-inequality>.

Data shared by private corporations with the government will be kept confidential and will not be associated with specific companies when aggregated for the public domain. Corporate information will be protected by only sharing data by industry type and giving companies the option to publicly share their data. Those companies that do share their corporate data publicly will be rewarded with public recognition and certification, which will create healthy competition among companies that do the same. However, there will always be the option to keep data confidential.

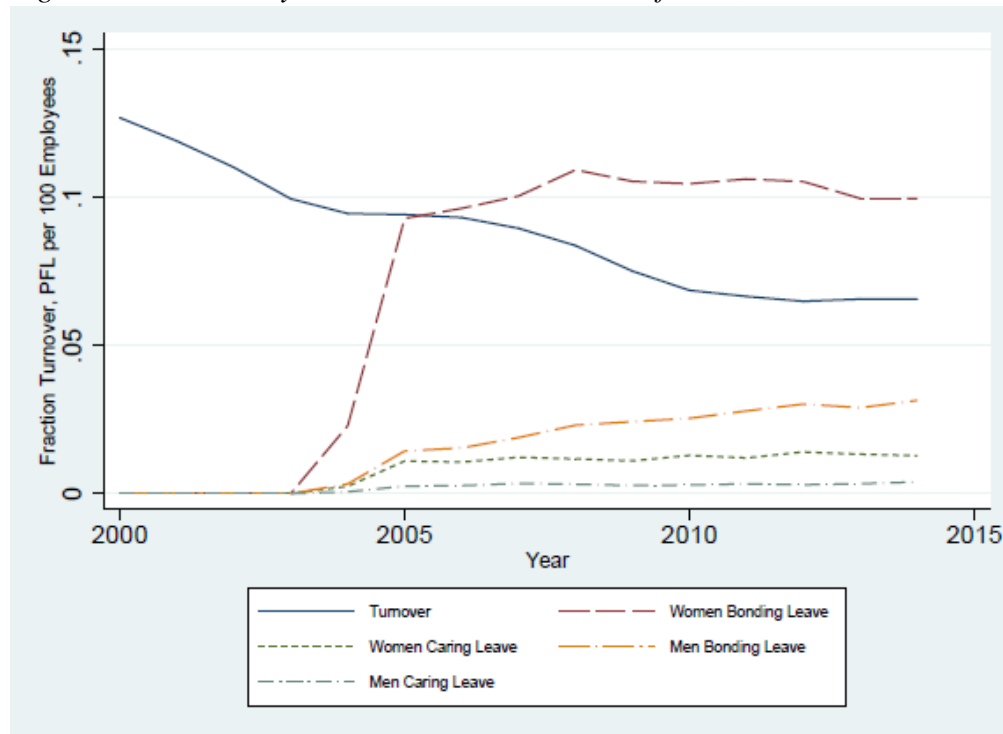
State legislatures have made progress on paid family leave over the past two decades. Since 2004, four states (California, New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island) and the District of Columbia have passed paid family leave (PFL) laws.<sup>77</sup> Research on the social and economic impacts of California's paid family leave policy shows that since the enactment of PFL, employee turnover rates have dropped and companies actually saw a reduction in employee payroll expenses on a quarterly basis, as seen in Figure 5 below.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> "Paid Family Leave Resources," National Conference of State Legislatures, last updated Jan. 10, 2018, accessed Apr. 25, 2018, <http://www.ncsl.org/research/labor-and-employment/paid-family-leave-resources.aspx>.

<sup>78</sup> Bedard, Kelly and Maya Rossin-Slater, "The Economic and Social Impacts of Paid Family Leave in California," California Employment Development Department, Oct. 13, 2016, [http://www.edd.ca.gov/disability/pdf/PFL\\_Economic\\_and\\_Social\\_Impact\\_Study.pdf](http://www.edd.ca.gov/disability/pdf/PFL_Economic_and_Social_Impact_Study.pdf).

Figure 5. Paid Family Leave and Turnover in California, 2000-2015<sup>79</sup>



Short-term gains on wage equality are not guaranteed by the FWA and it may still take years – even decades – to achieve equal pay for equal work for women and men of all races and ethnicities. While the FWA aims to address institutional barriers to wage equality in the labor market, racism and sexism manifests itself through other public and private institutions and may continue to have a negative impact on the position of women and minorities in the workplace, despite the potential for long-term improvement. The FWA requires behavior change among private and public institutions to not only collect data, but to conduct analysis and implement corporate policies that will eliminate discrimination in hiring practices, occupational segregation, and increase the representation of women and minorities in leadership positions. While the policy is

<sup>79</sup> *ibid*

intended to set an example for cultural change, inherent gender norms and roles remain. These may take one generation or more to change.

There are administrative and technological capacity limitations to collecting and analyzing the large amount of data mandated by the FWA. This type of data collection requires a centralized platform for data entry and analysis, and the Department of Labor's (DOL) current data software does not have the capacity for this or may not be the best software for type of data analysis. Platform modifications will be required to account for the different variables (not only sex, but also race, ethnicity, and national origin, among others). Despite an increased budget to implement this legislation, human resource constraints will make it difficult for the DOL to collect and analyze data in a timely manner. Much of the work will need to be contracted out to firms that have the technology and administrative capacity to quickly take in data and produce an analysis, which could be costly and time consuming.

Private corporations may push back on the legality of this type of data collection if they believe that sharing it would sacrifice their competitive advantage. While data will be confidential and only represented publicly based on industry type, there is still a security risk that data will not be kept confidential if it is not handled properly.

Considering recent data breaches within government agencies like the General Services Administration (GSA), the private sector may have warranted concerns about sharing their employment and salary data. If the proper technological and security measure are not put in place, there is a cyber security risk to having the government store this data.

The FWA requires a 20 percent increase in the House budget for Education, Training, Employment, and Social Services, which means that a portion of funds for

other programs will need to end and be reallocated to enforce the FWA. The government is currently operating under a budget deficit, and there is a risk that the penalties incurred by companies under the FWA will not be sufficient to cover the full cost of implementation. Due to resource constraints, this could put the government at risk of not properly enforcing the FWA, or alternatively, inadequately enforcing other policies, which could have unintended consequences for education, employment, and social services.

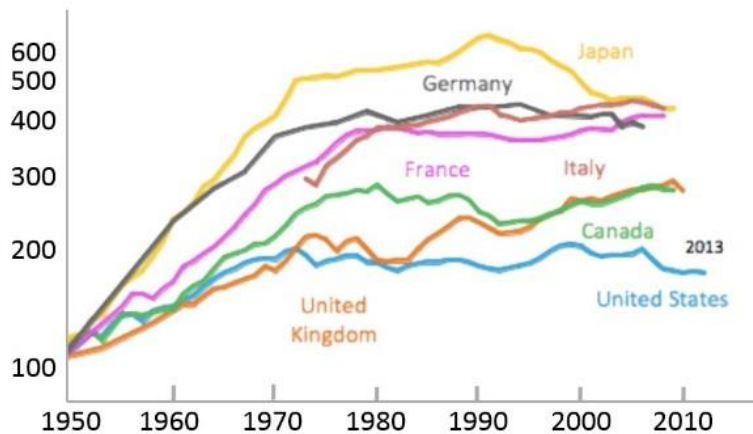
The FWA mandates paid parental leave but does not mandate how that parental leave is shared in two parent households. Women most commonly play the role of caretaker in American households, and studies show that in countries where paid leave is offered for both men and women, men are still less likely to play this role.<sup>80</sup> Policy change alone will not be sufficient to shift gender roles in the household regarding unpaid care work.

While there is the potential to increase the size of the US economy by over \$500 billion through wage equality, the distribution of that income will not inherently be equal across different socio-economic groups. Unlike most European countries and Japan, where an increase in national wealth correlates with a significant increase in the economic well-being of 90 percent of the population, gains in GDP in the US tend to benefit top income earners with no visible change in income for the vast majority of the population. This trend is demonstrated in Figure 6, below. An increase in GDP alone will not lead to desired poverty alleviation outcomes, and the FWA depends on the success of a full range of policy implementation tools.

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<sup>80</sup> “Maternity and paternity at work: Law and practice across the world,” International Labor Organization.

Figure 6. Growth, real average income, for bottom 90% of population<sup>81</sup>



## VI. Political Analysis

The FWA policy proposal is directly in line with Democratic Party goals to enforce equal pay and eliminate gender inequality and discrimination in the workplace – in 2017, when Representative Rosa DeLauro reintroduced the bill, there were 197 co-sponsors from the Democratic Party and one Republican.<sup>82</sup> Democratic leaders, including House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi, believe there would be even wider spread support for this type of legislation if it was brought to a vote.<sup>83</sup> The FWA makes the case for more comprehensive legislation that addresses not only the concerns over equal pay for equal work, but also underlying institutional barriers to gender equality in the workplace that are recognized across party lines – occupational segregation, the undervaluing of industries and occupations that are female-dominated, the detrimental impact that salary history inquiries can have on future salary growth, and the lack of access to affordable

<sup>81</sup> Janse, Kalin Anev, “Is Europe Outperforming the United States,” *Knowledge@Wharton*, University of Pennsylvania, 2015, accessed Mar. 21, 2018, <http://knowledge.wharton.upenn.edu/article/is-europe-outperforming-the-united-states>.

<sup>82</sup> Wheeler, Lydia, “Dems press for paycheck fairness bill on Equal Pay Day,” *The Hill*, Apr. 4, 2017, <http://thehill.com/regulation/finance/327225-dems-press-for-paycheck-fairness-bill-on-equal-pay-day>.

<sup>83</sup> *ibid*

childcare and paid family leave. President Donald Trump, along with other conservative leaders like Senator Marco Rubio and Carrie L. Lukas, the managing director of Independent Women’s Forum, have expressed support for legislation that provides tax deductions for childcare.<sup>84</sup>

According to the National Partnership for Women & Families, Americans overwhelmingly support “policies that hold employers accountable for pay discrimination, protect workers from employer retaliation and provide training in salary negotiation for women and girls” – in fact, 90 percent of registered voters feel this way.<sup>85</sup> The same is true for public support for paid parental leave. In 2016, Pew Research Center found that an overwhelming majority of Americans agree that both mothers and fathers should receive paid leave, as referenced in Figure 7 below.<sup>86</sup>

Even though legislation aiming to achieve pay equity often falls distinctly along party lines, there is a conservative movement to promote complementary legislation that supports government support for paid parental leave. One conservative think tank, American Action Forum (AAF), has proposed legislation to provide a tax credit to low-income households, which are much less likely to have access to paid family leave.<sup>87</sup> While only 14 percent of American workers overall receive paid family and medical

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<sup>84</sup> Dana Goldstein, “President Trump, an Unlikely Champion of Affordable Child Care,” *The New York Times* (New York, NY), Mar. 2, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/02/us/politics/trump-child-care-gop.html>.

<sup>85</sup> “The Paycheck Fairness Act: Fact sheet,” National Partnership for Women & Families.

<sup>86</sup> Horowitz et al., “Americans Widely Support Paid Family and Medical Leave, but Differ Over Specific Policies,” Pew Research Center, 2017, <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2017/03/23/americans-widely-support-paid-family-and-medical-leave-but-differ-over-specific-policies>.

<sup>87</sup> Russell Berman, “A Conservative Push for Paid Family Leave,” *The Atlantic*, Aug. 15, 2016, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/08/a-new-conservative-entitlement-for-paid-family-leave/495686>.

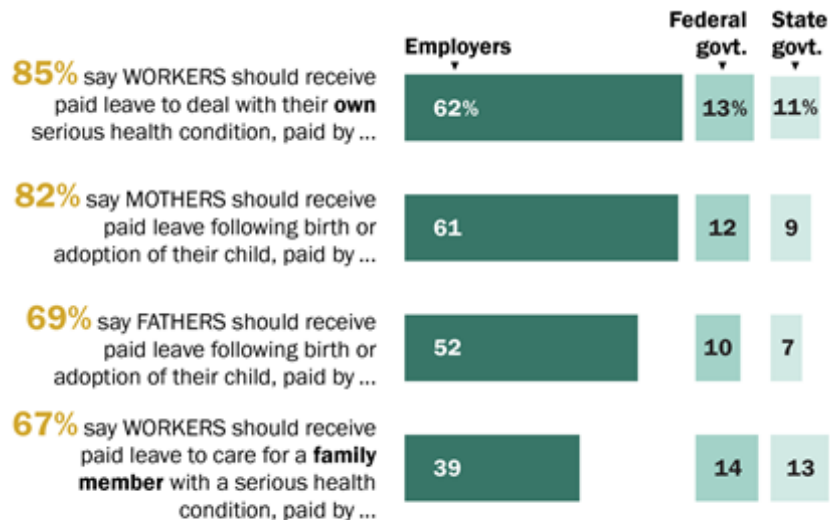


leave,<sup>88</sup> only five percent of the lowest paid workers compared to 23 percent of the highest paid workers have access to this benefit.<sup>89</sup>

Figure 7. Opinion poll on paid family leave<sup>90</sup>

### Most Americans say workers should receive paid family and medical leave

% saying each group should receive paid leave from ...



Note: Net support for paid leave calculated before rounding. Percent saying workers should be able to take unpaid leave or should not be able to take leave and share of respondents who didn't offer an answer not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 17-Dec. 1, 2016.

"Americans Widely Support Paid Family and Medical Leave, but Differ Over Specific Policies"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Given this conservative movement toward paid family leave policies, which are included in the FWA, there is an opportunity to attract conservative support.

Additionally, there is political support for discussion about paid family leave within the

<sup>88</sup> Desilver, Drew, "Access to paid family leave varies widely across employers, industries," PEW Research Center, 2017, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/03/23/access-to-paid-family-leave-varies-widely-across-employers-industries>.

<sup>89</sup> Gitis, Ben, "The Earned Income Lead Benefit: Rethinking Paid Family Leave for Low-income Workers," American Action Forum, 2016, <https://www.americanactionforum.org/solution/earned-income-leave-benefit-rethinking-paid-family-leave-low-income-workers>.

<sup>90</sup> Horowitz et al., "Americans Widely Support Paid Family and Medical Leave, but Differ Over Specific Policies."

Republican Party, as demonstrated by the highest-ranking female Republican in Congress, Cathy McMorris-Rodgers, who supports this dialogue:

“We need to come together on a solution that will support working families so they can provide for their family and grow in their careers. Proposals like AAF's open the door to new conversations, and I appreciate their work to put this issue at the forefront of our national conversation about the future of the workforce and economy.”<sup>91</sup>

Research by PayScale, a private company that utilizes big data to provide compensation information, indicates that employee retention is positively influenced when companies actively pursue policies to bridge the gender wage and opportunity gaps. Most employees value a workplace that prioritizes gender equality in pay and professional opportunities, and that both male and female employees are more likely to search for a new job if they feel there is no action being taken to bridge this gap, as seen in Figure 8 below.<sup>92</sup> FWA policies for bridging the gender pay gap and occupational segregation would be advantageous for employers because it has the potential to increase employee retention and job satisfaction.

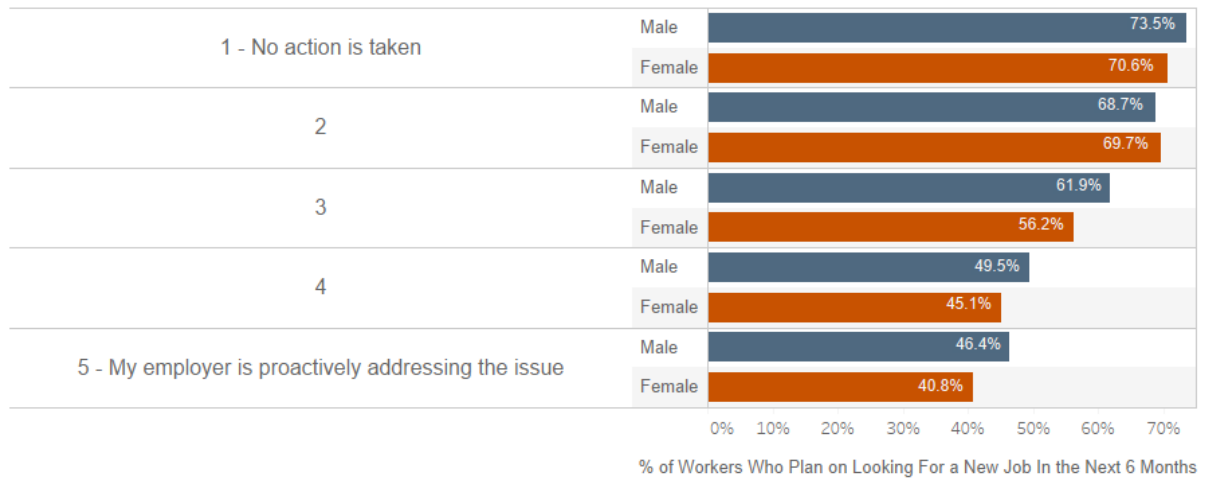
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<sup>91</sup> Berman, Russell, “A Conservative Push for Paid Family Leave.”

<sup>92</sup> “Gap Analysis: What Equal Pay Day Gets Wrong,” PayScale, 2017, accessed Apr. 23, 2018, <https://www.payscale.com/data-packages/gender-pay-gap>.

Figure 8. Employer Action in Addressing Workplace Gender Inequity<sup>93</sup>

On a scale from 1-5, rate your employer's activity in addressing workplace gender inequity.



The Paycheck Fairness Act was first introduced during the 105<sup>th</sup> Congress over 20 years ago. It has been introduced eleven times by Representative Rosa DeLauro since then.<sup>94</sup> Support in the House of Representatives and the Senate is entirely along party lines, with full Democratic support and little to no Republican support.<sup>95</sup> This does not bode well for the FWA, given that the FWA is more progressive and this type of legislation has a long history of political polarization. Under the current leadership of House Majority Leader Paul Ryan, Republicans refuse to bring the Paycheck Fairness Act to a vote.<sup>96</sup>

The political viability of the FWA would also be compromised by the fact that Congressional Republicans introduced two pieces of legislation in 2015 designed to address the gender wage gap, in direct response to the Paycheck Fairness Act: the

<sup>93</sup> *ibid*

<sup>94</sup> *ibid*

<sup>95</sup> “The Paycheck Fairness Act,” American Bar Association, 2016, [https://www.americanbar.org/advocacy/governmental\\_legislative\\_work/priorities\\_policy/discrimination/the\\_paycheck-fairness-act.html](https://www.americanbar.org/advocacy/governmental_legislative_work/priorities_policy/discrimination/the_paycheck-fairness-act.html).

<sup>96</sup> Wheeler, Lydia, “Dems press for paycheck fairness bill on Equal Pay Day.”

Workplace Advancement Act and the End Pay Discrimination Through Information Act.<sup>97</sup> While legislation on both sides of the aisle aim to rectify the shortcomings of the Equal Pay Act, the approach to enforcement is notably different. Progressive stakeholders like the Center for American Progress and the National Women’s Law Center argue that the Republican legislation is a “watered-down version” of the Paycheck Fairness Act.<sup>98 99</sup> The two bills leave much to be desired when it comes to penalizing employers for gender discrimination, providing skills training and development for women and girls, and recognizing businesses for good performance on providing equal opportunity and bridging the wage gap.<sup>100</sup>

Despite conservative support for paid family leave, it does not necessarily sit at the top of the agenda of the Republican party and in many cases, is counter to the Republican platform around small government and free market principles. Legislation such as the FWA that includes paid family live will incur additional costs for the federal government, and as conservative experts like Jason Pye, Vice President of Legislative Affairs at FreedomWorks, point out, “We have to get a handle on spending growth before we start talking about new and costly programs.”<sup>101</sup>

While there is wide public support for policies under the FWA like paid parental leave, Pew Research Center found that paid family leave is less of a priority for most constituents compared to other pressing policy issues such as terrorism, the economy, and

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<sup>97</sup> *ibid*

<sup>98</sup> Glynn, Sarah Jane, “Conservatives’ Stab at Pay Equity Falls Short,” Center for American Progress, June 11, 2012, <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/economy/news/2012/06/11/11729/conservatives-stab-at-pay-equity-falls-short>.

<sup>99</sup> “Our Equal Pay Laws Need Updating, but the Workplace Advancement Act Would Do More Harm than Good,” NWLC, 2017, <https://nwlc.org/resources/our-equal-pay-laws-need-updating-but-the-workplace-advancement-act-would-do-more-harm-than-good>.

<sup>100</sup> *ibid*

<sup>101</sup> Berman, Russell, “A Conservative Push for Paid Family Leave.”

education.<sup>102</sup> Among a list of approximately 20 policies, paid leave falls at the bottom and only 35 percent of those polled consider paid leave to be a priority for the current administration and Congress.<sup>103</sup> Furthermore, the public is split about whether employers should be required by the government to provide paid family leave.<sup>104</sup> In addition to half of those surveyed thinking it should be up to employers to decide if they provide paid family leave, there are also concerns that universal paid leave might be bad for the economy (34%), bad for employers (47%), and especially bad for small businesses (57%).<sup>105</sup>

Another key challenge is that, despite the evidence showing that women are paid less than men in most industries, many men still do not believe the wage gap exists.<sup>106</sup> While the majority of people believe it exists – 83 percent of women and 61 percent of men, according to recent polls – there is still a significant portion of people that believe the gender wage gap is a myth.<sup>107</sup> This is partially due to a weakness in messaging about the gender wage gap, which tends to focus on equal pay for equal work as the premise for the argument. Some critics argue that the wage gap between men and women is minimal in certain industries, but fail to recognize the gap in women’s leadership within many industries and the role that occupational segregation plays in lowering the value of

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<sup>102</sup> “After Seismic Political Shift, Modest Changes in Public’s Policy Agenda,” Pew Research Center, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2017/01/24/after-seismic-political-shift-modest-changes-in-publics-policy-agenda>.

<sup>103</sup> Horowitz et al., “Americans Widely Support Paid Family and Medical Leave, but Differ Over Specific Policies,” Pew Research Center, 2017, <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2017/03/23/americans-widely-support-paid-family-and-medical-leave-but-differ-over-specific-policies>.

<sup>104</sup> *ibid*

<sup>105</sup> *ibid*

<sup>106</sup> Julia Carpenter, “Why men need to believe in the wage gap,” *CNN Money* (Washington, DC), Feb. 20, 2018, <http://money.cnn.com/2018/02/20/pf/men-wage-gap/index.html>.

<sup>107</sup> Sarkozy, Louis, “Nevertheless, the gender wage gap myth persisted,” *Washington Examiner*, Jan. 8, 2018, <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/nevertheless-the-gender-wage-gap-myth-persisted/article/2645297>.

women's paid work. The mainstream dialogue around the gender wage gap does not focus on essential factors like how women's time is undervalued compared to men's and the gender roles that men and women tend to fall into within families, leading women to carry a greater burden of unpaid work.

Conservatives further argue that the gender wage gap is not about equal pay for equal work, but rather about the difference in women and men's job choice and family responsibilities.<sup>108</sup> They acknowledge that access to affordable childcare is problematic, that the burden of unpaid household and care responsibilities should be more evenly distributed between men and women, and that women should not be limited to lower-paying industries.<sup>109</sup> However, they are resistant to the argument that the pay gap is a result of gender discrimination and believe that it is up to women to make different choices about their careers and family responsibilities.

In addition to weak support within Congress, the Trump Administration has sent mixed signals about its support for equal pay for equal work. One of President Trump's senior advisors, Ivanka Trump, made statements during the presidential campaign about the Administration's support for equal pay for equal work and acknowledged the gender wage gap as a policy priority.<sup>110</sup> However, in March 2017, leading up to Equal Pay Day, the President overturned Obama-era Executive Order 13673 on Fair Pay and Safe Workplaces, which aimed to further protect the civil rights of workers through pay

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<sup>108</sup> "Do Men Really Earn More Than Women? [Infographic]," PayScale, 2012, [https://www.payscale.com/gender-lifetime-earnings-gap?cm\\_mmc=Email\\_-2012-05-Salary+News\\_-NA-Do+Men+Really+Make+More+Than+Women](https://www.payscale.com/gender-lifetime-earnings-gap?cm_mmc=Email_-2012-05-Salary+News_-NA-Do+Men+Really+Make+More+Than+Women).

<sup>109</sup> Ramesh Ponnuru, "Don't Blame Discrimination for Gender Wage Gap," *Bloomberg View* (New York, NY), Aug. 13, 2012, <https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2012-08-13/don-t-blame-discrimination-for-gender-wage-gap>.

<sup>110</sup> Jessica Kwong, "Equal Pay Day: What Has Ivanka Trump Actually Done to Close the Gap for Women?" *Newsweek*, Apr. 10, 2018, <http://www.newsweek.com/equal-pay-day-ivanka-trump-878814>.

transparency, requiring that employers submit wage data based on gender, and preventing contractors with a history of discrimination and labor violations from winning federal awards.<sup>111</sup> The Trump Administration has been relatively quiet on the issue since, and in November 2017, a group of advocates from Democracy Forward, the National Women's Law Center, and the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement filed a lawsuit against the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), the EEOC, and members of the Trump Administration for violating civil rights laws by reversing the Executive Order.<sup>112</sup> Five months later, on Equal Pay Day 2018, the group filed another lawsuit against OMB under the Freedom of Information Act to inquire about the role that Ivanka Trump played in influencing the President's reversal of Executive Order 13673.<sup>113</sup> While campaign rhetoric indicated that the Trump Administration, by way of Ivanka Trump, would support legislation for wage equality, these earlier actions and proceeding inaction indicate that it is not a priority for this Administration, and that there could be resistance to passing this type of legislation.

## **VII. Recommendation**

After more than twenty years of stalled progress in achieving pay equality between men and women in the workforce, and a reversal of progress in terms of wage equity between White women and women of color, it is imperative that lawmakers act to ensure that pay equality is adequately enforced and measures are taken to increase gender

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<sup>111</sup> Mary Emily O'Hara, "Trump Pulls Back Obama-Era Protections for Women Workers," *NBC News* (New York, NY), Apr. 3, 2017, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/trump-pulls-back-obama-era-protections-women-workers-n741041>.

<sup>112</sup> "National Women's Law Center, Labor Council for Latin American Advancement v. OMB," Democracy Forward, Feb. 2018, <https://democracyforward.org/work/nwlc-lclaa-equalpay>.

<sup>113</sup> Democracy Forward Foundation v. OMB, 1:18-cv-00817 (DC 2018), <https://democracyforward.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/DFP-v.-OMB-EEO-1-Complaint-As-Filed.pdf>.

equality in the workforce. This includes putting mechanisms in place to ensure that women and minorities have equal access to quality jobs, leadership positions, and income growth potential. A comprehensive piece of legislation such as the FWA is required to hold employers and the government accountable for the systemic inequities that contribute to the gender wage gap.

While the current political environment is not conducive for this policy proposal based on the Republican-controlled Congress and the Trump Administration's priorities and actions, the groundwork must be laid now to ensure a successful enactment of the FWA in the coming years. In the near-term, there is a clear political opportunity with the upcoming 2018 midterm elections. Every seat in the House of Representatives is up for re-election and the majority of seats where incumbents are not seeking re-election are currently held by Republicans.<sup>114</sup> There are a total of 38 House Republicans vacating their positions, which means that Democrats need to pick up 24 of those seats to win the majority.<sup>115</sup> In the event that the House majority switches party, there will immediately be significant political will for the FWA within Congress. With a Democratic majority, it may also be possible to achieve bipartisan support among Republicans leaders such as Cathy McMorris-Rodgers, and with some conservative think tanks such as the AAF.

While there remains a strong possibility that this legislation will not pass under the Trump Administration or any Republican administration, it is essential that the FWA remain on the political agenda so that when the right balance of political circumstances

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<sup>114</sup> Rakich, Nathaniel, "The Recent Rush of GOP Retirements Is Good for Democrats," *FiveThirtyEight*, last updated Sep. 12, 2017, accessed Apr. 23, 2018, <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/the-recent-rush-of-gop-retirements-is-good-for-democrats>.

<sup>115</sup> Petulla, Sam and Jennifer Hasler, "There is a wave of Republicans leaving Congress, updated again," *CNN* (Atlanta, GA), Apr. 7, 2018, <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/11/10/politics/house-retirement-tracker/index.html>.



arises, it will be prepared to move forward quickly and pass into law. There is compelling data for both sides of the aisle that women's increasing participation in the labor force contributes to immense economic growth, and as long as women of all races and ethnicities continue to be underpaid, the economy will suffer and American families will suffer. Polling data shows that the clear majority of voters – 90 percent – support policies that aim to lift women and girls by ensuring equitable pay practices. Most Americans support paid family leave to help women and families better manage the burden of childcare on their households. Given the trends of the last thirty years, delaying action increases the odds of even greater growth in disparity in the wage gap for Black and Latina women. In the meantime, the economy of the United States will fail to reach its full potential and families will continue to suffer more than necessary as a result. America cannot afford to leave these opportunities on the table.

## Curriculum Vitae

Rachel Mahmud was born on May 18, 1988 in Nashville, Tennessee. She grew up in Cincinnati, Ohio where she attended Walnut Hills High School. She graduated Cum Laude with a Bachelor of Arts in International Affairs from The George Washington University, with concentrations in Development and African Studies, and a minor in Geography. Following the completion of her undergraduate degree, Rachel spent six years working for non-profit organizations implementing international development programs. Rachel has traveled extensively throughout Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia to provide training, technical assistance, and programmatic support to poverty alleviation programs. During her pursuit of a Master of Arts in Public Management, she continued to work full-time as a Program Manager at United Nations Foundation, where she manages a portfolio of women's economic empowerment programs and ensures gender mainstreaming into clean energy initiatives in emerging markets.

### EDUCATION

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| 2018 | M.A. Public Management, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC   |
| 2010 | B.A. International Affairs, concentrations in Development and African Studies<br>The George Washington University, Washington, DC, Cum Laude, Dean's List, |
| 2008 | American University Center of Provence, Aix-en-Provence, France  |

### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

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**PROGRAM MANAGER, GENDER**, United Nations Foundation, Global Alliance for Clean Cookstoves

Washington, DC

Aug 2017–Pres.

- Manages \$3M dollar gender portfolio for the Global Alliance for Clean Cookstoves, including \$500,000 in grants supporting women and youth empowerment.
- Responsible for the financial management of gender programs, including budget tracking, as well providing financial oversight for sub-awardees and contractors.
- Executes institutional gender strategy and determines priorities for annual operating plan, setting the vision for the next phase of programs (2018-2020).

- Advises internal teams on gender equitable practices by conducting gender analysis, and ensuring gender integration into health, climate, technology, and investment programs.
- Develops and adapts tools to support gender analysis, including, training, due diligence, and monitoring and evaluation.
- Monitors grantees and supervises all gender consultants. Conducts site visits and provides gender technical assistance to grantees in Ghana, Uganda, India, Kenya, Haiti, etc.
- Provides technical assistance to social enterprises to implement gender-informed strategies.
- Executes the global gender advocacy strategy by managing key external relationships, producing factsheets, setting agendas for high-level events, and advising on gender integration into global-level frameworks (eg. the UN's Sustainable Development Goals).
- Speaks on expert panels to share tools and strategies for gender integration, including the American Evaluation Association annual conference, UN Women's Commission on the Status of Women, Clean Cooking Forum, Energy Practitioner Network, and webinars.
- Consults as an Expert Working Group Member for the Gold Standard Foundation Gender Framework, guiding the technical development of a gender-responsive framework.
- Serves as lead proposal writer and proposal manager for new business opportunities.
- Reports to public and private donors on program outcomes, including State Department, UK Department for International Development, Finland, and Caterpillar Foundation.

**SR. PROGRAM ASSOCIATE, GENDER,** United Nations Foundation, Global Alliance for Clean Cookstoves

Washington, DC

Aug 2014–July 2017

- Coordinated the global roll-out of an agency-based empowerment training for women entrepreneurs. Facilitated a pilot training-of-trainers in Haiti, presented resource in public fora, monitored progress, and collected data on impact and lessons learned.
- Managed and provided technical input into the development of a gender-informed human resources training, ensuring project outputs were in line with the global gender strategy.
- Provided technical assistance and guidance on the development of an M&E framework for measuring the gender, social, and economic impact of enterprise development programs.
- Co-authored a [How To Guide](#) for the [Social Impact Measurement System](#) for the clean cookstoves and fuels sector.
- Field-tested social impact M&E tools in Rajasthan, India and provided on-the-job training to local enterprise staff in administering surveys.
- Supported the development and implementation of a gender advocacy strategy by building and managing relationships with key stakeholders, including UN

Women, ICRW, Women Thrive Alliance, Women for Women International, Women Deliver, and ENERGIA.

- Developed advocacy messages and talking points, and participated in global gender advocacy networks (Women's Major Group, Global Gender & Climate Alliance, etc.).
- Supported the design and execution of high-level gender advocacy events by drafting concept notes, speaker memos, invitations, and hosting preparation calls for speakers.
- Managed the gender knowledge hub for the clean cooking sector by conducting desk research, tracking data, and developing factsheets and advocacy collateral.

**PROJECT COORDINATOR, ACDI/VOCA Washington, DC**

Sept 2012–July 2014

- Coordinated the Gender Community of Practice, supported training program to mainstream gender throughout project design & implementation.
- Managed an online gender knowledge hub for over 1,000 employees based in nearly 25 countries by sharing tools, lessons learned, and best practices.
- Provided technical, financial, and administrative supervision to a portfolio of enterprise development projects based in Kenya, Ethiopia, Liberia, Burkina Faso, and Sri Lanka.
- Developed project work plans and startup/closeout plans; drafted donor reports; tracked project budgets; and ensured compliance with contractual requirements.
- Supported field office operations through short-term technical assistance, including gender value chain analysis, gender training, USG contract compliance, grant management, procurement, and local staff recruitment.
- Received the Presidential Award for outstanding performance on the multi-million dollar USAID proposal for Leveraging Economic Opportunities (LEO).

**PROPOSAL COORDINATOR, ACDI/VOCA, Washington, DC**

July–Sept 2012

- Ensured strategic communications between proposal teams and international partners, and assisted with developing and managing proposal inputs and research.
- Coordinated teams developing multi-million dollar USAID and USDA proposals and supported institutional fundraising by tracking new business opportunities.
- Managed the online gender knowledge hub, and promoted gender mainstreaming throughout proposals and programs.

**NEW BUSINESS ASSISTANT, ACDI/VOCA, Washington, DC**

Aug 2010–July 2012

- Conducted research, compiled proposals through document management and assembly, and contributed to proposal writing and key personnel recruitment.
- Reviewed donor requirements and provided guidance to proposal teams. Included procurements from USAID, USDA, World Bank, AusAID, and Gates Foundation.

## **TRAINING AND SHORT-TERM TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE**

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<b>TECHNICAL WORKING GROUP MEMBER, SOCIAL IMPACT FOR THE CLEAN COOKING SECTOR, INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS ORGANIZATION</b>	2017-2018
<b>EXPERT WORKING GROUP MEMBER, GENDER FRAMEWORK, GOLD STANDARD</b>	2017
<b>WOMEN'S ENERGY ENTREPRENEURSHIP WORKSHOP, UNF, Kenya</b>	2017
<b>GENDER ASSESSMENT OF CLEAN COOKING IN HAITI, UNF, Haiti &amp; USA</b>	2016
<b>TRAINER: GRANT WRITING WORKSHOP, UNF, Kampala, Uganda</b>	2016
<b>TRAINER: GRANT WRITING WORKSHOP, UNF, Accra, Ghana</b>	2016
<b>GENDER &amp; SOCIAL IMPACT SURVEY FIELD TESTING, UNF, Rajasthan, India</b>	2015
<b>TRAINER: EMPOWERED ENTREPRENEUR HANDBOOK, UNF, Port-au-Prince, Haiti</b>	2015
<b>TRAINER: MAINSTREAMING GENDER IN PROGRAM DESIGN, ACDI/VOCA, USA</b>	2014
<b>GENDER VALUE CHAIN ANALYSIS, ACDI/VOCA, Bamako and Sikasso, Mali</b>	2014
<b>GRANT ADMINISTRATION SPECIALIST, ACDI/VOCA, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia</b>	2013
<b>COUNTRY OFFICE STARTUP SPECIALIST, ACDI/VOCA, Bamako, Mali</b>	2012
<b>COUNTRY OFFICE STARTUP SPECIALIST, ACDI/VOCA, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso</b>	2011

## **VOLUNTEER EXPERIENCE**

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<b>REFUGEE FAMILY MENTOR, Lutheran Social Services of the National Capital Area</b> Washington, DC	2012-2017
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Mentored a refugee family by supporting transition to life in America through English tutoring, job search and placement, navigating public services, and exposure to the community and American culture.</li><li>• Coordinated with Case Managers to ensure support for necessary social services.</li></ul>	
<b>GED TUTOR, So Others Might Eat, Washington, DC</b>	June–Dec 2014
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Provided one-on-one tutoring to adult student in reading, writing, and math subjects.</li></ul>	
<b>ANNUAL MEETING VOLUNTEER, Clinton Global Initiative, New York, NY</b>	Sept 2012
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Selected through a competitive application process to work alongside 200+ volunteers supporting CGI's Annual Meeting from September 24-26, 2012.</li></ul>	
<b>VOLUNTEER LEADER, Greater DC Cares, Washington, DC</b>	2009–2012
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Coordinator for key community service days: Martin Luther King Day of Service (2011), Servathon (2010, 2012), and Extreme Makeover: Home Edition (2009).</li></ul>	
<b>ESL TUTOR, Secours Catholique, Aix-en-Provence, France</b>	Jan–May 2008
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Provided one-on-one tutoring to refugee and immigrant students in France learning English as a second language.</li></ul>	

## **LANGUAGES & SKILLS**

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French (working professional proficiency), English (native)  
Word, Excel, PowerPoint, SharePoint, Salesforce, Adobe Acrobat, Google Suite